1: Karsten--186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 583, 628 (1928-29)

"....capture of women in general, within the sub-tribes, is by no means of rare occurrence in the Jibaro communities. The same may be said of elopements with another man's wife, an unlawful form of marriage which may give rise to lengthy and sanguinary feuds between the families."

1: Karsten--87
116, 591, 583

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"It is customary among the Jibaros that after his marriage a man takes up his residence with the parents of his wife. The work he performs for his parents-in-law is at the same time looked upon as a compensation for his wife, since a bride-price is never paid among the Jibaros. The son-in-law as a rule continues living with his wife's parents until one or two children have been born. When the family grows, and especially if the man wants to take one more wife, he moves from his parents-in-law and settles with his family in a new house in the neighbourhood of theirs. However, as I have said, it frequently happens that the second wife is a younger sister of the first one, in which case the man continues to live with his parents-in-law."

2: Stirling--108 [5] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 583

"Marriage among the Jivaros is by a form of purchase. When a man sees an unmarried girl or a widow whom he wishes to take as a wife he speaks to her father or brother and, unless they particularly object to the suitor, a price is agreed upon and he takes the woman away. There is no ceremony attached to the transaction and no ceremony of marriage. A woman does not have the right to refuse a man if her father or brother have accepted payment for her. Very frequently immature girls of 8 or 9 years of age are purchased as wives. They are at once considered as being wives and go to their husband's household to live. Sexual intercourse does not take place, however, until puberty. In other respects, the young girl functions as a wife, attending to her household duties along with any other wives her husband might have."

10: Anthony--147 [5] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 583

"When a daughter reaches the marriageable age, twelve to fourteen years, she is given to a man who is friendly to the father. There is no price set on the girl and the transaction involves merely the good will of the two men. The girl herself is not consulted. This method of gaining a wife is, however, rather a slow process for the ambitious Jivaro who is striving to acquire a large household in a region where women are at a premium and every girl of marriageable age is much sought for. A more efficacious method, provided all goes well, is to wage war upon some neighbor or against a family of an adjacent tribe and to confiscate, as the spoils of victory, the widows of such a man. By a carefully planned stroke of this kind the Jivaro may gain several wives at once."

12: Rivet--606 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 883, 152, 583

A young man can stay under the paternal roof as long as he wishes, his mother serving him in the same way as she does his father. This period is for him a time of unrestraint and sometimes of crime. He dares all, making love without scruple to all the women that he meets, and his lack of conscience goes so far, according to certain travellers, as to kill his sister's husband so as to be able to give the young widow to a friend of his own choice. In other words, in certain tribes, particularly at Gualaquiza, it is not the father but the brother who gives his sister in marriage and with no other formality than his acquiesence, the fiance takes away the one he has chosen.

/333 cont./

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is laboriously traversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

94:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[595] man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and
[589] three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed
mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household,
[591] also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter,
851 the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*),
606 who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first
591 child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and
his family dwell in a new house nearby.

• 583 Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when
591 the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-
411 in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service.
[595] This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to
occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matri-
local residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to
him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood con-
taining a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when
he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

593 The man is formally head of the household and also in-
462 formally seems generally to dominate his family. He is re-
[592] sponsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for
hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots,
and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some
very limited garden chores and weaves the family's home-
made garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the over-
whelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for
cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending
[606] the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law
is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his
father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game
and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-
law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident
606 in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iči* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*tsabe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

> Tukupī and Aiaŋā are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupī had an unmarried sister, Nampirā. Aiaŋā asked Tukupī for her (the father of Tukupī and Nampirā was dead). Tukupī gave her to Aiaŋā, and Aiaŋā and Nampirā became husband and wife. But then Aiaŋā did not want to give *his own* sister to Tukupī. Also Aiaŋā frequently beat Nampirā when he got drunk.
>
> So Tukupī went to the house of Aiaŋā. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."
>
> They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupī left. Thereafter, whenever they

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9 .

Several cases were encountered in which men gave their daughters in marriage to shamans without the customary bride-service, or even the less common bride-price, because the girls' fathers feared the bewitching power of the shamans. It is also standard practice for shamans to be given gifts of chickens, clothing, and ornaments during casual visits to laymen's houses, even though the shamans have not specifically asked for them. Laymen, in contrast, are usually not given presents by fellow non-shamans without asking for them. Shamans are quite conscious of their privileges, and often boasted to me how well they (compared to non-shamans) were fed when visiting neighbors' houses.

Shamans host neighbors to help in land clearing more often than do non-shamans. Such labor is ostensibly reciprocal, but the shaman's neighbors are reluctant to ask him to work for them in turn. This is partly due to their desire to maintain his goodwill, but there also seems to be a feeling that extensive manual labor is not in keeping with the shaman's supernatural preoccupations and services.

A shaman obtains his power to bewitch or cure exclusively through purchase. To become a shaman, a man presents a sizeable gift to an established practitioner. Such a gift must have some real value in native terms. Typically, it consists of one or two muzzle-loading shotguns, gunpowder, shot, primers, a blowgun and curare, and a machete or steel axehead. In return for this payment, the practicing shaman instructs the apprentice in his new profession and supplies him with magical power, in the form of the spirit servants called *tsentsak* (see pp. 154–66). The exchange of shamanistic power for payment in material valuables (*kuit*) makes the two men *awigri* or "friends," as is the case with normal trading partners (see pp. 128–31). However, the relationship between shamans is a hierarchical one signif-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

With the entrance of the raiding group into the alien tribe's region, strict silence is maintained and scouts are sent ahead. The latter, usually five in number, snake back and forth through the forest across the trail, to avoid being surprised by Achuara hostiles. The main body of men follows the scouts, but simply keeps to the trail itself.

At nightfall, the entire party stops, while the scouts remain awake, camped at an outpost on the trail ahead. The main body constructs lean-to's and sleeps, except for one man who is sent several hundred yards ahead to act as a sentry until about 1 A.M., when he returns. Then the main group arises at about 2 or 3 A.M., eats, and continues on the trail. When they reach the scout outpost, the scouts are relieved by a new group which proceeds on ahead of the main body. The former scouts go back down the trail to sleep in the lean-to's where the main party had spent the night.

The actual attack is carried out only on a house where the scouts find the enemy unwarned. Usually a single house is attacked, but sometimes two may be assaulted simultaneously, and the attackers may use palm-wood thrusting lances, bayonet-style, to supplement their muzzle-loaders. Often the roof of the house is set afire to drive the inhabitants out into the open. Heads are taken of all victims, regardless of age or sex. A man may seize an Achuara girl or woman as a captive to try to take her home to be an extra wife, but usually he is unsuccessful in this because one of his companions kills her on the homeward trail to secure a head trophy.

The capture of women sometimes goes in the other direction, and can involve children as well. A male informant recounted that when he was a small child, the Huambisa attacked his house in the Río Yaupi region, killed his father, and captured his mother and himself. After several years in their captor's household, they escaped and, after an arduous jour-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

727 ney, reached their home neighborhood. However, most wife-
• 583 seizing among the Jívaro is intra-, rather than inter-tribal in form, and is often justified on the basis of supposed levirate rights and romantic involvement.

727 Although obtaining heads is the primary object of the expedition, the successful attackers also loot the houses of such valuables as blowguns, dart poison, dogs, beads, machetes, steel axes, featherwork, and other ornaments.

Tsantsa *Celebrations*

727 As they retreat homeward, the head-takers (*tsayram*)
765 shrink the skins peeled from the heads. Since the withdrawal
778 from the enemy region is made with haste, in order to avoid being overtaken by an avenging group of Achuara, the preparation of the head skins is done intermittently during the infrequent stops on the return.

The process of preparing the *tsantsa* involves a number of steps. With the aid of a machete or steel knife, the victim's skin is peeled back from the uppermost part of his chest, shoulders and back, and the head and neck are cut off as close
[301] as possible to the collarbone. The killer removes his own woven headband or *etsemat* and passes it through the mouth and neck of the head and ties it over his shoulder to facilitate
[824] his rapid retreat from the victim's neighborhood. If he has no *etsemat*, he may use a section of *tinčipi* vine instead.

Eventually, the head-taker and his companions reach a spot beside a river where they had cached one or more pottery cooking jars and food dishes. Here he makes a slit up the rear
[776] of the head, carefully cuts the skin from the skull, and throws
[782] the latter into the river "as a gift for *pasi*," the anaconda. The skin is boiled in plain water (there are no "secret" vegetal

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade